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621 **The Settlement.** The political unit of Barama society is the settlement, and its basic principle is the common locality of its members. Settlements vary among themselves in size from seven to seventy individuals. A typical settlement is analyzed in detail in the following chapter on Sawari. Factors which determine membership in this group are kinship, friendship, marriage, and accident of birth. Termination of membership is by individual choice, sentiment of the community antagonistic to the individual in question, death, and non-social reasons such as exhaustion of the soil and of the hunting grounds. Each settlement is presided over by a headman whose authority is decidedly limited and dependent upon the force of his personality or physical strength. The headman is generally chosen by acclaim for life, or for the existence of the settlement, by the adult men of the group. Community affairs are decided informally, in conversation among the adult men when they are together during drinking sprees. Thorough discussion of the various functions of the settlement may be found in the chapter on the Settlement of Sawari.

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621 103 The settlement is usually called by the name of the creek nearest its location. The names of the principal settlements on the Barama are herewith given, with their literal translations.

Aranka — orange
Barama — no meaning
Huri — a fish (*Hoplias malabaricus*)
Kariako — a small deer
Kokerit — a palm tree (*Maximiliana regia*)
Kurasani — an old man went fishing late in the afternoon and saw something in the water. He ducked into the water saying the word "kurasani" as an exclamation of surprise. It has no other meaning, but since that time the creek near where this occurred has been called Kurasani. It is claimed that he saw a supernatural ant-bear which is called tamanua.
Kwamata — bamboo
Kurewa — a leguminous plant which grows in second-growth jungle
Massawini — bright (clear) water, shining water
Parapimai — from parapi, plate; a man dropped a plate in the water and named the creek accordingly
Sawari — a nut-bearing tree (*Caryocar Pekea tuberculosa*)
Sineparu — a bush rope

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personality of the group, has refused to turn her over to Columbus. 595
David says that he has "given her" to Miller. And it is certain 622
that she is subject to the sexual attentions of Miller. My negro
cook, Henry, who slept in a house near Miller, where he could 595
observe the nighttime occurrences in the headman's domicile, took a morbid pleasure in reporting to me confidentially each morning Miller's preference of the night before. On the occasions when he had observed Miller enter the hammock of Charlotte, Elizabeth could usually be observed the following morning weeping or acting otherwise in a depressed way. During my stay at Sawari, Miller's attentions to Charlotte increased in frequency. On two occasions the observing cook reported that Miller had left Elizabeth's hammock almost immediately after entering it and had gone to Charlotte's hammock. On the days following these events, Elizabeth was exceedingly dejected. Also, the last present given by me to Miller, was turned over by him to Charlotte in preference to Elizabeth. During the course of this romance within Miller's household, if it may be so called, I noticed a definite increase in assurance and poise on the part of Charlotte. From these sidelights of Carib family life, we may gain some insight into the workings of personal interaction, emotionalism, and formal status in a polygamous household. Whether or not Charlotte is the wife of Miller in name, she is certainly at least a concubine in fact. As regards her household activities, on the other hand, Charlotte takes a slightly inferior position. That is to say, she is under the direction of Mary and Elizabeth in the activities concerned with field-work and house-work.

Concerning the personalities of the three women in Miller's 595
household, then, we see that Elizabeth is nominal head of the 554
female side of household affairs. She, however, is greatly influenced in practical matters by the advice of Mary, whose greater age and experience she respects, while at the same time she has no reason to feel antagonism toward Mary as a sexual rival. Mary is nominally in the secondary position of rank and authority, but because of the circumstances enumerated above, is able to exert the strongest personal influence of all the three women in matters which are not involved with Miller's sexual feelings. Charlotte nominally is the subordinate one of the three women, but, due to her apparently increasing hold on the affections of Miller

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554 595 gradually gaining more and more actual importance in the household. She is now well on the way to being a serious rival of Elizabeth as nominal mistress of the household. All of this is not to say, however, that the rivalry between the women of this polygamous household has as yet, at least, reached the point of open hostilities.

159 Miller himself is a forceful personality, known far and wide by reputation in the Barama country. To some extent this reputation is the result of the following series of exploits, partly told me by Miller himself, partly by other Indians, and by Mr. Pestano. About 1920 Miller, his brother Alec (who now lives at Haiari), and their father visited a cassiri spree at Towakaima settlement. The spree was given by an Indian, one Robert, an older man with an attractive young wife. In the course of events the discerning eye of Miller observed the charms of Robert's wife, and Miller devoted most of his attention to her. About midnight the spree came to an end, as such affairs usually do, with the exhaustion of the liquor supply, and the participants betook themselves to their hammocks. Robert escorted his wife to her hammock, which was near his, but when she thought that her husband was asleep, she got up and repaired to a prearranged rendezvous with Miller in the bush near the settlement. Robert woke up, noticed her absence, searched her out, and proceeded to give her a terrific beating. Miller objected to Robert's beating the woman, to which Robert retorted that he was well within his rights (as he was) and that he intended to do the same with Miller when he finished with his wife. Thereupon Miller attacked the old man who, with the strength of an outraged husband knocked Miller down. (This part is omitted in Miller's version of the tale.) Attracted by the commotion, Miller's father and Alec, his brother (who is the tallest man I measured in the territory), joined in the fight against Robert. As Robert was being overpowered, he seized his cutlass and lashed out, giving them several wounds, the scars of which are still visible on Miller's and Alec's faces and bodies. Miller and his kinsmen replied with their cutlasses and soon had beaten Robert to the ground. Robert's older son was a coward and fled into the bush, leaving his father to the mercy of the attackers. Blood was over everything. But Robert had a little boy about six years old who did not run away. Robert also had a muzzle

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going to Towakaima to carry supplies for me back to Sawari. 583
On the way to Towakaima he passed through Kurewa, made things up with his woman there, and during the rest of my stay in Sawari did not reappear. Caroline and her girls continued to live in the half-roofed house, doing their share of the field work, but depending for meat upon the efforts of Miller and Samuel.

Caroline and Elizabeth (the wife of Samuel) are not only sisters, 572
but also great chums. Elizabeth is probably five years younger 593
than Caroline, but both are buxom, lovers of a joke, and slightly lazy. They spend much of their time together, and their shrieking laughter can be heard almost any time of the day, if they are in the settlement, and late into the night. They are perfect foils for each other, Caroline loud and boisterous, Elizabeth quieter and cleverer. Few people I know consistently have as much fun together as Caroline and Elizabeth. Samuel, Elizabeth's husband, is her junior by perhaps ten years. He is shorter and considerably less bulky than she. Also he is quieter. But from all the signs, they are perfectly devoted to each other. Elizabeth has been living with Samuel more than a year. With them live her two little girls, Katrina and Mary, aged about five and seven respectively, children of her first (deceased) husband.

Samuel's brother Columbus has his own house on the other side 592
of Miller's establishment. He lives with Susan, a young girl not yet come to puberty. Susan receives help from the women of Miller's household in cooking and field work, in return for which Columbus assists Miller in field cutting, korial building, and shares his game with Miller's household.

Separated by a hedge of cotton bushes from the afore-men- 554
tioned households, stand the houses of David, his son Joseph; his 791
son-in-law Joseph, and his wife's sister Margaret, on the north side of the clearing. David is an old man possibly of sixty years who enjoys the double distinction of being the father-in-law of Miller and the piaiyen (or priest) of the village. He is also distinguished in the possession of a withered right arm, perhaps the result of early paralysis. (He says that he cannot remember a time when this arm was as large as the left one.) He has never been renowned for his physical strength or hunting ability, but is the village repository for such myths and legends as are extant in the group. For his learning and religious powers he is much respected.

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554 791 He formerly lived in Kwamata, but moved to Sawari some years ago, when the strength of Miller's influence became apparent there. At the present time he does no hunting, depending upon his sons and sons-in-law for meat supply. His present wife, Christina, was a widow when he married her. She has grown children elsewhere by previous marriages, but no children by David.

592 In a separate house near David's lives Margaret, Christina's sister, perhaps three to five years younger than the latter. She has lived with men, but at the time of my arrival in Sawari was unattached. The reason assigned for this by informants was her physical unattractiveness. However that may be, about a month after my arrival, David's son (by a previous marriage) Joseph appeared at Sawari, having been driven out of Kwamata by the irate brother of his wife with whom he had quarrelled there. It was not long until he had built a house near David's, and just before I finally left Sawari, arrangements had been made for Margaret to move into his new house with him. Also living in David's house is his young son Frederick, a boy of about twelve years of age.

Near David's house is the dwelling occupied by his daughter, Cecelia, and her husband, Joseph, and their little girl, Edna, about two years old. Cecelia is perhaps twenty years of age and the most attractive woman of the settlement from the white man's point of view. That her charms are not altogether unappreciated [554] by the Caribs is evident. Joseph, who is her senior by perhaps three or four years, is recognized as the most accomplished fiddle player of the community, and in this capacity officiates at all drinking sprees.

554 621 In Miller's clearing, taken as a whole, we may thus distinguish two local groupings. The southern half of the clearing is occupied by the respective families of Miller, his kinsman Columbus, and two sisters, Elizabeth and Caroline. In the northern half of the clearing, separated from the southern half by a low barrier of bushes, are the household of David and those of his son, his daughter, and his wife's sister. Thus, while Miller and his household seem to hold the dominant social position in the clearing, David is a very close second in prestige. The social life of the clearing is most strongly influenced by these two men, each in his own way. And their respective influences in the life of the clearing are to a

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certain extent reflected in the grouping of the households. Miller, as the dominant individual, occupies the largest house, which is placed nearest the center of the clearing. Grouped around him are the households of the clearing most closely linked to his by blood and marriage, the households in which presumably his influence is greatest. In a distinctly separate part of the clearing are grouped the households which in analogous ways are most influenced by David.

Reference to the preceding section on blood and marriage relationships will show that the households established in Miller's clearing are those among the households of the settlement having the closest connections with Miller by blood and marriage. Here are to be found the only representatives in the whole settlement of the respective blood groups of Miller's present and former wives. Here also are the only two households in the settlement formed by marriages in which both participants are members of Miller's blood group (Henry-Caroline, Samuel-Elizabeth). The location of the households above described and the composition of the population of this clearing, therefore, do not appear to be entirely accidental, but seem to hint at underlying factors in social organization.

Miller's clearing is a purely residential area. The fields belonging to the residents of this portion of the settlement are located at a distance of about half a mile to the northwest, as shown in Figure 9. The division of the field plots is explained later.

In John Cook's clearing, located about fifteen minutes walk distant, we have a collection of four married couples. The situation is somewhat less complicated here, inasmuch as Cook is unquestionably the dominant personality in his clearing. He is a gaunt man of probably forty years. He belongs to the same generation as Miller, and is probably about the same age. He formerly lived at the now abandoned settlement of Massewah, became a good friend of Miller, and joined Miller's settlement some years ago upon the death of his first wife. The motivation for his joining the Sawari settlement apparently grew out of his personal friendship with Miller, and as a result of this he married his present wife, a kinswoman of Miller. Cook's children by his former wife are dead, but by his present wife, Laura, a woman of about thirty years, he has a boy and a girl of about four and six respectively

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554 621 578 Shortly after my arrival in Sawari, friction between Cook and Miller, which had apparently been brewing under the surface for some time, became evident. Miller, on several occasions during the course of cassiri sprees, picked quarrels with Cook and tried to induce the latter to fight him. Cook took the attitude that he could not be bothered with such petty disputes and went about his business unperturbed. As a result, during most of my stay in Sawari, Cook, and as a rule the residents of his clearing, stayed away from Miller's clearing. The residents of Miller's clearing finally refused to invite them to cassiri sprees, to which the residents of Cook's clearing responded by having cassiri sprees of their own to which the Miller residents were not invited. In this dispute Laura remained with her husband.

The only exception to this rule was Henry Daniel, a young man of perhaps twenty-one. He is the only man in Cook's clearing who has close relatives of his own sex in Miller's clearing. His brothers, Samuel and Columbus, live there, a fact which assured him of enough backing in the antagonistic atmosphere of Miller's clearing to make visits there bearable. His wife, Mary, a half-sister of Cook, is very young, perhaps eighteen, and during my stay in Sawari gave birth to her first child.

621 554 Daniel, a half brother of Cook, is a young fellow of about twenty-two. He is Cook's closest cooperator in the settlement. They do everything together. Daniel's wife, Elsie, a cross cousin of Miller, is not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. They have no children.

John, the head of the fourth household in Cook's clearing, is a distant parallel cousin of Miller. He is a man of about thirty-five, and his association with Cook is based on personal friendship.

Thus we see that three of the four households in Cook's clearing are related to him by blood, and one household is associated with him on the basis of personal factors. Of the seven individuals in Sawari belonging to Cook's blood group, six live with him in his clearing.

Cook's clearing is different from that of Miller in that it is not only a residential clearing but also an agricultural field. It is the largest open space in the Sawari neighborhood, measuring nine hundred and fifty feet by six hundred and eighty feet, and the whole clearing is not more than a year old. For some years Cook

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has lived here, while a short distance to the southeast of the present clearing lies his abandoned field. Only about a year previously did the other households which now occupy the clearing join with Cook, cooperate in the clearing of the present immense field, and take up their residences there. In this field each man has his own plot of ground, which his household cares for. But at the present time Cook's clearing has hardly yet become stabilized. The grouping of the houses here reflects no social division within the group itself, which is consistent with the fact that Cook's influence is supreme. Here the divisive factors of blood and personal prestige, which tended to set David's group apart from Miller's group in the latter's clearing, have practically no force. Cook's house, in the southeast corner of the clearing, happens to be the one which he has occupied for some years. The dwellings of the other households are scattered across the center of the field in easy access to their respective agricultural plots.

Our examination of household groupings thus far has given hints of divisive factors arising on the basis of blood, personality, and personal ability. The settlement itself is split into two large local groups, centering respectively about Miller and Cook. Miller's local group is further divided into two sections which center respectively about Miller and David. In each of these groupings there is a high correlation between the personal influence of the dominant character, his blood relationship with the members of the group centering about him, and the spatial grouping of the households concerned.

There remains the household of Edwin, located, as can be seen in Figure 9, about midway between the settlements of Miller and Cook. Oddly enough, Edwin's social position with reference to the two major local groups correlates remarkably with his spatial relation to them. Edwin is approximately the same age as Miller and Cook. He is a large man, easy going, capable, but given to excessive intoxication when the occasion presents itself. His wife, Lulu, is only slightly younger than he and has borne all his five children. Her blood relatives live at Towakaima and Sineparu. The oldest boy, Peter, is probably about sixteen years of age and is looking about for a wife. The oldest of the other four children is about eleven. Although Edwin is a distant parallel cousin of Miller, he divides his contacts equally between the latter

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number and the largest variety of items. Also, Miller or the members of his household own some of the most valuable imported items obtained in trade. This condition does to a certain extent reflect Miller's social prominence in the settlement; it may be regarded as a result of his social position, but not as a cause. Those outsiders who have dealings with the settlement (such as traders at Towakaima, the prospector Bell, myself) deal with Miller as the recognized head of the settlement, as the man with greatest influence; and he is therefore enabled to acquire more trade goods than other men. For instance, I required a crew of four men to go down river to Aranka, where I had left my supplies, and return to Sawari carrying a portion of the supplies on their backs. The round-trip journey was a matter of perhaps one hundred miles or about ten days. It was an arduous job, but one for which each of the men would be well paid. Negotiations were started with several men individually, but their enthusiasm was only mildly aroused, even by the prospect of acquiring fine trade goods for themselves and their families. Finally the matter was broached to Miller, who promptly persuaded four young men to undertake the journey as a favor to themselves, to him, and to me. A deal was made between Miller and the men whereby Miller obtained a certain part of the trade goods which each man received as pay, in return for his services in arranging the employment for them. Thus Miller, without making the trip himself, received more goods than any one of the men. But there is no formalization in an arrangement of this kind, which was made, in this case, simply as a personal agreement between Miller and the other men. His social prestige lent a persuasiveness to his words, but, although the consummation of a successful deal of this kind doubtless added something in turn to Miller's personal prestige, there is nothing in his office of headman which enables him to coerce the other members of the settlement. This was illustrated later, when the negro prospector, Bell, requested several laborers of Miller. Although Miller again tried to persuade members of the settlement to take the work, he was in this instance unsuccessful because the men involved considered Bell's trade goods too poor to make the job worth their while.

A mere survey of material possessions among the Caribs indicates a small degree of social importance because in this culture

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from which the others are excluded, thus building up its own solidarity.

Summary. In summarizing the situation in Sawari we are justified in concluding, I believe, that the most important factors of unity are blood relationship, relationship by marriage, friendship, and economic opportunity.

The factors which tend to disrupt the unity of the settlement are personal dislike, insufficient economic opportunity, death, and divorce.

Leadership of the community is here based on personality, intelligence, initiative, physical ability, and relationship. Thus Miller, the headman of the whole village, was the first man to cut a field in this vicinity, thereby giving a demonstration of his initiative, physical ability, and intelligence. He attracted a group of friends and relatives about him, who on account of all these factors were willing to submit to his authority, such as it is. The same factors are seen to be at work in the off-shoot group represented by Cook's clearing with Cook as its leader. Children and youths are subordinate to adults, but among the latter such inequality as exists is based on personal factors.

Sawari, therefore, like the other Carib villages on the Barama, is a local grouping of families, united around a leader for the reasons mentioned above. No single factor is alone operative in bringing together such a group, no single factor can be said to be the exclusive cause of its disintegration.

The balance between the forces of unity and of disintegration in a Carib settlement is exceedingly delicate. The membership is continually shifting, and the life of an average settlement is apparently comparatively short. Sawari was founded perhaps ten years ago by Miller, after his sojourn in the toils of the law. It is still growing, but in a fluctuating fashion. Many of the newly married residents have been members for only a year or two. Joseph (David's son) joins the settlement, Henry (Caroline's husband) leaves in the space of a few months. It is quite likely that further additions and subtractions will take place at about this rate until the settlement for one reason or another is finally abandoned.